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ABSTRACT

The major focus of this study is upon the operation of the occupational experience of father, wife, and the friendship network of the father in forming childrearing values of Negro and white fathers of lower, working and middle status. Beyond this, the relationships between childrearing values and paternal participation in the son's development are examined, as is the relationship between childrearing values and son's achievement. A sample of 448 black and white male heads of household with male children between the ages of 5 and 21 were included in the analysis, the data for which were obtained from a semi-structured interview schedule. The findings indicate that: (1) although occupation and childrearing values are significantly correlated for both Negro and white samples, occupation exerts an independent influence upon values among Negroes only; and (2) among Negroes, financial stability both in the present and over generations is very important as an explanation of variation in achievement levels. (TL)

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Larry W. DeBord
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September 1970

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HEALTH, EDUCATION, AND WELFARE

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Introduction

A substantial research literature has developed which is oriented to unraveling family sources of achievement (Peterson and DeBord, 1966). Though intra-class differences in achievement are found to be related to differences in family millieu the bases of these family differences are not at all clear.

The link between social class and parental values and behavior has been the subject of numerous empirical investigations as well as considerable controversy (Bronfenbrenner, 1958). Though an abundant literature has demonstrated differences between social classes with respect to parental values and goals for their children, only limited data have been gathered to address the problem of how socio-economic position operates to produce such differences (Hyman, 1953). A notable exception is the work of Melvin Kohn (1959, 1963, 1966, 1969).

Kohn argues that parental values for their children are primarily a function of the occupational experience of the parent. Parents value behaviors which are condusive to success in their sector of the occupational structure, and differences between classes are accounted for by the different occupational experiences of working and middle-class parents. His analysis of data gathered from 200 middle-class and 200 stable, working-class families showed that three dimensions of work experience were highly related to parental child-rearing values, and that each exercised an independent effect. Whereas, the earlier study of occupational experience carried out by Miller and Swanson (1958) distinguished occupations in terms of the integration setting (entrepreneurial - bureaucratic), Kohn argues the inappropriateness of this distinction in a modern industrial society (1963, p. 477) and instead offers as relevant dimensions, 1) closeness of supervision, 2) principle component of work, 3) requirement of self reliance of work (1963).

Kohn argues that the effects of occupational experience on parental child-rearing values are less tied to parents concern for socializing their children into their segment of the occupational structure than to their view of behavior required for success in their world of work as virtues to be instilled in their children.

The importance of Kohn's arguement for the relevance of occupational experience as a source of parental child-rearing values is clear. Though several students of the post-industrial era see a reversal in the trends toward routinization and meaninglessness of the work process (cf. Simon, 1965; Blauner, 1964), the changes in the structure of the work process toward less autonomy for the workers is clear (Mills, 1956; Etzioni, 1968). Certainly, the implications for intervention to change values are different for the Bronfenbrenner and Kohn explanations of sources of class differences in child-rearing values.

Though studies such as those by Kohn have suggested mechanisms through which social class may influence orientation toward children, it is less clear how these self-reported values relate to parental concern for their children's formal education and their academic performance.

This paper reports the findings of a study of influence of occupational experience on child-rearing values of parents and academic performance of sons.

Few studies have explored the nature of child-rearing values among lower-class parents and those which have, focused primarily on data gathered from mothers and children. Little is known about the role of the father vis-a-vis his sons, and recent work suggests that class and racial variation in paternal role and its effects may be considerable (Leibow, 1967).

Much of the research on these issues suffers the limitations of narrowly limiting the class-range of the sample (Davidson and Greenberg, 1967), of focusing only on one level, e.g. relationship between occupational experience and parental values or relationship between parental values and various kinds of individual outcomes such as chilren's achievement in school.

The major focus of this study is upon the operation of occupational experience of father, wife, and friendship network of father in forming child-rearing values of Negro and white fathers of lower, working and middle status. Beyond this, the relationships between child-rearing values and paternal participation in the son's development are examined, as is the relationship between child-rearing values and son's achievement.

METHOD

The data for this study were gathered in the Summer and Fall of 1969. The original sample was made up of 1178 subjects living in Nashville, Tennessee and Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. Subjects were selected through a multistage sampling design, Using 1960, Census data, neighborhoods were classified on race and socio-economic status. Following this, each area was visited by a member of the research team to insure the adequacy of census-based ratings. with completion of the mapping of the two cities, blocks were arbitrarily selected. Final selection of respondents was carried out by the interviewer who selected every fourth dwelling unit in blocks assigned.

In each case, only the head of household was interviewed. If this person was not at home on first visit, arrangements were made for an interview at a later time. Of the total sample, 712 were interviewed in Nashville, and 466 in Philadelphia.

For this study, only those persons interviewed who were male heads of households with male children between the ages of 5 and 21 were included in the analysis. The total number of the original sample so defined is 448. Of these, 250 were white and 198 were Negro.

Student achievement data were gathered only for those in the Nashville sample whose male children were enrolled in school in the Spring of 1970, and for whom test data were available. Since ability tests are administered only in grades 3, 5, and 7, and achievement tests are administered in grades 1 through 10, complete ability and achievement data were available only for those students enrolled in grades 3 through 12 in the Spring semester.

Of the 448 male heads of households with male children between the ages of 5 and 21, 217 are Nashvillians. Of this number 94 are white and 123 are Negro. One hundred and twenty eight of these fathers had male children in school when the parent data were gathered in Summer, 1969. School data gathered in Summer, 1970, revealed that 99 in elementary or secondary school at the close of the school year. Eighteen were graduates and eleven were school dropouts.

Fathers were administered a semi-structured interview schedule which was developed by an interdisciplinary and interuniversity team of interested academics. The schedule was designed to tap migration history, family structure, occupational experience, income, participation in voluntary associations, political participation, neighborhood involvement, social pathology, child-rearing values, and concern for and involvement in son's education.

Occupational data were gathered for the respondent, his wife, his father, and his three best friends. The occupation of each was scored using Duncan's socioeconomic index for occupation. (Duncan, 1961).

Education of respondent and spouse was rated on a ten point scale ranging from no formal education through graduate study. Income is measured by response to the question, "Thinking now about your entire household and all the sources of income, about how much was your total family income last week?"

The income measure was designed to tap total resources of the family. Because of this, income is less closely linked to the occupation of the main earner in the family than would be the case if income of main earner was employed as the estimate of family income. Though the data on income were not complete, 404 of the sample of 448, responded.

The other major variables included in this analysis are measures of active participation in the parent-teacher association, the relevance of work success as the measure of a man, and the principal dependent variable, child-rearing values.

Parents were rated on whether or not they attended any PTA activities during the school year. The relevance of work as a source of evaluation is measured by the respondent's agreement or disagreement with the statement, "The best way to judge a man is by his success in his work." Agreement was rated on a five-point scale.

The measure of child-rearing values is derived from the work of Melvin Kohn. In his studies of families in Washington, D.C. and Turin, Italy, Kohn identified 17 characteristics of children known to be generally valued. A measure of the relevance of particular values to the parents interviewed was derived by asking them to study the list of 17, and select the 3 most important in a boy or girl of their child's age. In his later national study, some modifications in wording and items were introduced, and the list shortened to 13 values. Parents were asked to study the list and select the three most important, the three least important, and the single most important value (Kohn, 1969).

Several changes in Kohn's measure are introduced in this study. Given the concern here with sampling lower, working, and middle-class parents, it was desirable to make the instrument as simple and clear as possible. Given the difficulty of presenting a lengthy list of values for parents to study, or remember if read aloud by an interviewer, a set of eight forced-choice dichotomies were constructed.

Value dichotomies were constructed so as to include a more traditional and a more modern value in each pair. The more traditional values emphasized conformity and obedience while the modern values stress independence and self-control. The parent was asked, "Which of the following characterisitcs do you think is most impcrtant for your son to have?" He was then presented each dichotomy independently, e.g. "that he is honest or that he is ambitious."

Of the eight pairs only five were retained for the values index. The first three pairs were rejected (see Table 1). The first pair failed to differentiate between respondents, with only six percent selecting ambitious over honest. All three of these pairs were negatively correlated with one or more of the five pairs retained for the index. This is not surprising since these appear to distinguish the independence - control dimension less well than the other pairs.

The five items retained were moderately intercorrelated, and an item analysis revealed a relatively high item-total correlation for each item. The alpha coefficient for the five item scale was .73. The mean, standard deviation, and item-total correlations for the five dichotomies making up the child-rearing values scale are presented in Table 2. The item analysis and correlations are based on data on the 670 subjects, both male and female, who reported having a male child. The remainder of the analysis of relations between parental background and experience and child-rearing values, as noted above, employs data on the 448, male, heads of households with male children aged 5 to 21 years.

Data on children's performance were gathered from school records on file in the central office of the public school system. When data were not complete in this file field workers visited the school. In instances where this was necessary some difficulty was encountered due to the problem of gaining admission to schools closed for the summer. Where possible, field workers recorded both standardized ability and achievement scores as well as the grade level and date when administered. Since subjects were identified through directories and phone listings, where possible, from addresses recorded on the original parent schedule, considerable time was consumed identifying children and their schools. Where directories failed to yield this information, parents were again contacted.

Based on standarized achievement data, students were rated in terms of achievement; below, at, or above grade level. Thorndike has carefully explored the problems associated with deriving achievement performance scores from individual measures of ability and achievement (Thorndike, 1963). In a sense grade level attained is treated as a group measure of expectation of performance. Relations between achievement score and parental values can in turn be explored within broad categories of ability.

TABLE 1

Proportion of the sample of parents selecting the traditional and modern value in each pair (N = 670)

Pair				
1	Honest	.92	Ambitious	.06
2	Popular with other children	.44	Able to defend self	.54
3	Happy	.80	Ambitious	.18
4	Obeys his parents	.85	Good student	.11
5	Liked by adults	.54	Curious about things	.43
6	Neat and clean	.82	Affectionate	.15
7	Dependable	.74	Self Control	.24
8	Obeys his parents	.81	Self Control	.16

TABLE 2

Mean, Standard Deviation, and Item Total Correlation for each of the items in the child-rearing values scale.

	Item	Mean	Sigma	R-Total
1	Obeys - Good Student	1.19	.49	.66
2	Liked - Curious	1.49	.56	.66
3	Neat and Clean - Affectionate	1.21	.48	.70
4	Dependable - Self-Control	1.30	.52	.71
5	Obeys - Self-Control	1.22	.48	.76

FINDINGS

The analyses presented in this section are based on several different subgroups within the total Nashville-Philadelphia sample. The scale analysis of the child-rearing values responses, presented in the previous section, was based on that portion of the total sample with male children. City and racial group comparisons of scores on child-rearing values revealed that only Philadelphia Negroes and Philadelphia whites differed significantly on values score.

Intercorrelations between key independent variables and child-rearing values are presented for the two-city sample of male heads of households with school age sons. Then using this sample, relevant partial correlations between occupation and education variables and child-rearing values are presented separately for Negroes and whites. Following this is the results of a separate regression analysis for Nashville Negroes and whites with children enrolled in school. This analysis is limited to this Nashville sub-sample since school performance data were gathered for this group only.

Though a central concern here is with the degree to which occupational experience influences the development of child-rearing values, an abundant literature argues that more generally, world view is also strongly influenced by the occupational experience. As a validity check on the child-rearing values measure, interrelations among selected attitudinal items, as well as, child-rearing values and occupational and educational variables are presented in table 3.

The correlation coefficients presented in Table 3 are computed only for subjects with complete data on each variable, e.g. the relationship between occupational status level of second job and other variables is based only on those who report working at a second job. Each cell of the table contains both the correlation coefficient and the valid number of subjects.

Table 4 shows the correlations among attitude items and the correlation of each attitude item with child-rearing values to be moderately positive. The only exception is the small negative correlation between feeling apart even among friends, and values.

The following statements, which tap several attitudinal dimensions, were scored on a five point scale with high score indicating strong disagreement:

> "Nowadays a person has to live pretty much for today and let tomorrow take care of itself."
>
> "It's hardly fair to bring children into the world with the way things look for the future."

TABLE 3

ntercorrelations between occupational and educational variables
nd selected attitudinal measures, and child-rearing values.
ells contain correlation coefficient and valid number of subjects.

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
1 Age	-								
	-								
2 Father's work	₹05	-							
	424	-							
3 Work when married	.06	.39	-						
	424	409	-						
4 Education level	₹36	.37	.52	-					
	439	421	421	-					
5 Current work	.00	.38	.68	.66	-				
	323	310	308	321	-				
6 Second job	.10	.21	.32	.47	.54	-			
	35	34	31	35	35	-			
7 Weekly income	₹03	.18	.30	.35	.32	.37	-		
	401	385	385	399	320	35	-		
8 Wife's work	₹06	.31	.41	.45	.38	.29	.26	-	
	126	125	117	126	115	19	122	-	
9 Wife's education	₹32	.34	.46	.70	.53	.35	.35	.70	-
	389	376	374	388	293	32	359	123	-
10 In five years worse	.33	₹11	₹12	₹21	₹10	₹14	.06	₹10	₹16
	338	326	324	337	306	34	325	114	305
11 Live for today	₹14	.17	.25	.34	.29	.11	.17	.27	.27
	443	425	425	440	324	35	402	127	391
12 Children in world	₹09	.14	.15	.22	.19	.02	.12	.15	.17
	443	425	425	440	325	35	402	127	390
13 Try-make worse	₹19	.18	.25	.30	.20	.07	.15	.25	.24
	443	425	425	440	324	35	402	127	390
14 Judge man by work	₹17	.21	.11	.22	.13	.35	.12	.02	.15
	442	424	425	439	323	34	401	125	389
15 Man should head family	.10	.22	.10	.19	.17	.16	.18	.17	.14
	444	426	426	441	324	35	403	127	391
16 Have nothing to be proud	₹12	.04	.16	.25	.19	.25	.08	.21	.19
	444	426	426	442	324	35	403	127	391
17 Feel apart	.02	.00	.00	.01	₹04	₹18	.04	₹02	₹03
	445	427	427	442	325	35	404	127	392
18 Child - rearing values	₹08	.28	.28	.37	.39	.47	.24	.21	.34
	445	427	427	442	325	35	404	127	392

TABLE 3 (continued)

		10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17
1	Age								
2	Father's work								
3	Work when married								
4	Education level								
5	Current work								
6	Second job								
7	Weekly income								
8	Wife's work								
9	Wife's education								
10	In five years worse	- -							
11	Live for today	-.04 339	- -						
12	Children in world	-.05 341	.31 444	- -					
13	Try-make worse	-.10 340	.35 444	.44 445	- -				
14	Judge man by work	-.06 339	.24 443	.21 443	.31 443	- -			
15	Man should head family	.05 340	.16 445	.20 445	.17 445	.26 444	- -		
16	Have nothing to be proud	-.03 340	.06 445	.09 445	.07 445	.05 444	-.02 446	- -	
17	Feel apart	.09 341	.10 446	.07 446	.08 446	.08 445	.03 447	-.04 447	- -
18	Child-rearing values	-.10 341	.14 416	.17 446	.26 446	.20 445	.13 447	.20 447	-.08 448

"If you start trying to change things very much, you usually make them worse."

"The best way to judge a man is by his success in his work."

"A man should be the head of his family no matter what."

"I feel I do not have much to be proud of."

All of the occupational and educational measures for the men and their wives are significantly related to child-rearing values. However, among these men current occupational status is only slightly higher in its relationship to values than is education level, and the correlation between education level and values is higher than between work status and values, for wives. Though both level of education and occupational status of the men and their wives are positively related to each of the attitude items of table 4, in each instance the correlation of each with child-rearing values is highest.

Table 4 presents the intercorrelation among occupational status of each man's three best friends. Also, the correlations between these measures of the friendship network of each man, and other occupational and educational measures appear. As expected, current occupation and occupation of friends are most highly related. None of these measures is very closely related to level of dissatisfaction with the job the school is doing. It should be noted, however, that people generally were reluctant to evaluate the school's success. Fewer than half of the sample would do so. Occupational status of best friends, as the other occupational and educational measures, is significantly related to level of child-rearing values, however, due to the high interrelations among these variables the meaning of this relationship is not clear at this point.

To better assess the effects of father's occupational experience upon his child-rearing values, several of the variables most highly related to both of these measures were controlled in a partial correlation analysis. These first, second, and third order partials are presented in table 5. Given the limited empirical work on child-rearing values and paternal role among Negroes, the rest of the analysis is presented separately for Negroes and whites.

Table 5 shows that the correlation between occupational experience and child-rearing values is higher for Negroes than for whites. Beyond this, however, the partials suggest that the operation of this, and the other occupation and education variables may differ for the two groups. Controlling for education level creates a substantial reduction in the association of values and occupational experience in the Negro sample, but for whites, the relationship all but disappears.

TABLE 4

Correlations of parental educational and occupational variables with friend's occupations, and with measures of concern for son's schooling and child-rearing values. Cells contain correlation coefficient and valid number of subjects.

	1	2	3	P.T.A.	Dis.-School	C-R Values
1 First friend's job	---			.21	.06	.30
	---			325	187	326
2 Second friend's job	.53	---		.17	₹10	.30
	275	---		323	182	325
3 Third friend's job	.46	.51	---	.23	₹04	.21
	251	266	---	295	163	296
4 Father's occupation	.31	.38	.28	.13	.00	.28
	309	310	282	425	224	427
5 Work when married	.32	.39	.44	.08	₹12	.28
	323	311	282	425	217	427
6 Education level	.45	.46	.46	.32	₹09	.37
	322	321	293	440	229	442
7 Current work	.51	.57	.63	.21	₹04	.39
	257	253	227	323	204	325
8 Weekly income	.33	.27	.17	.11	₹03	.24
	294	293	262	402	217	404
9 Wife's work	.47	.42	.46	.17	.02	.31
	105	102	95	126	80	127
10 Wife's education	.41	.43	.40	.36	₹05	.34
	288	285	261	390	205	392
PTA activity					.05	.23
					230	446
Dissatisfaction with school						.09
						231

TABLE 5

Partial correlations of occupational experience with child-rearing values.

Variables Controlled	Partial Correlation	
	Negro	White
Education Level	.21	.05
Age	.38	.22
Occupation of Father	.31	.21
Wife's Education Level	.27	.17
Wife's Current Occupation	.28	.19
First Friend's Occupation	.28	.19
Ed. Level and Ed. of Wife	.18	.04
Ed. Level and Ed. Level of Wife and Occupation of Wife	.17	.02
Oc. of First and Oc. of Second and Oc. of Third Friend	.17	.19
Zero Order Correlation	.38	.26

In both groups, when current occupation is controlled the relationship between education level and child-rearing values persists, .21 for Negroes, and .27 for whites. Among Negroes then, the effects of education and occupation seem to be independent, whereas in the white sample occupational experience has little effect independent of education.

Though the relationship between occupation and values persists for both groups when occupational status of friendship group is controlled, this latter variable does appear to operate somewhat independent, though weakly, of the respondents occupational experience. When current occupation is controlled, the partial correlation between occupation of first friend and child-rearing values is .16 in the white sample and .13 in the Negro sample.

Though the nature of relations between occupational experience, education level, and child-rearing values have been explored above using the larger sub-sample of male heads of households with male children the remainder of the analysis of relations between these variables and pupil performance is limited to those with male children in grades 3 through 12. Both ability data and achievement data are available for this group which includes 55 Negroes and 29 whites.

Given the small size of these sub-samples primary focus will be on correlations between occupational and educational variables, and values and achievement. Since the measure of achievement described above, performance relative to grade level, is considerably skewed with a substantial portion of both Negro and white children in the sample performing below grade level on the standardized achievement test, a separate regression analysis using actual grade-placement score as the dependent achievement measure is also reported.

The sub-sample of Negro and white fathers of male children currently in school differs somewhat from the larger total sample of Negro and white heads of households in Nashville. On most of the key variables included in the analysis, both Negro and white fathers were lower as a group than Negroes and whites in the total Nashville sample. The only exceptions to this were education level of Negro fathers with school age sons (which remained identical), and income of both Negroes and whites with school-age sons (lower for Negroes $138 as opposed to $163 per week, and identical for whites $170 per week). The difference in child-rearing values scores between the larger and smaller samples of Nashville Negroes was less (6.07 in the larger sample and 6.03 in the smaller) than for Nashville whites (6.13 and 5.72 respectively).

In part, the differences in mean occupation and income levels may result from age differences between larger and smaller samples, the smaller samples in both instances being younger fathers. The difference between groups on child-rearing values scores appears to parallel differences in education level. This seems especially likely in view of the nature of the relationship between education and values reported above.

Correlations between key independent variables and child-rearing values, P.T.A. involvement, and dissatisfaction with schools are presented in table 6. With the exception of wife's education level the correlations of each of the independent variables with child-rearing values is considerably higher for Negroes than whites. The most striking differences are between the relationships of friendship network, wife's occupation, and income with values for the two racial groups.

Looking first to the impact of wife's work on values, it appears that the difference in relationship with child-rearing values in the two racial groups is reflected in the correlation between wife's occupation and family income. For Negroes this correlation is .45, whereas for whites it is -.06. It appears that in this sample, Negro wives who work substantially increase family resources, whereas, white wives do not. This may be in part a reflection of white wives tending not to work unless required by the inability of the husband to earn a living. Friendship network also seems to be more intimately linked with ones own occupational and educational status among blacks than among whites in this sample. Likewise, the difference in operation of income in the two racial groups should be viewed in terms of the substantial group differences in income distribution.

To better assess the impact of education and occupational experiences upon values and achievement, as well as P.T.A. activity and dissatisfaction with school, these variables were entered in a regression analysis. As suggested by the correlation analysis, parental educational and occupational experiences are better predictors of child-rearing values of Negroes than whites. Among whites these variables accounted for 38 percent of the variation in values scores, whereas, among Negroes the explained variance was 69 percent. As an estimate of the independent contribution of values to the prediction of achievement (grade equivalent on standardized language achievement test), achievement was regressed on the eight education and occupation variables. For whites, with grade when administered entered, only 8 percent of the variation in achievement is explained. Among Negroes 57 percent is accounted for, with income explaining most of the variation. The addition of child-rearing values to the model results in only a slight increment for each racial group (to 20 percent for whites, and 58 percent for Negroes).

TABLE 6

Correlations of occupation and education measures with child-rearing values, P.T.A. activity and dissatisfaction with school for Negroes and whites.

	C-R Values		P.T.A.		Dis. School	
	N	W	N	W	N	W
Father's occupation	.47	.03	.03	.05	-.03	.28
Current occupation	.74	.38	.34	.09	.30	.36
Education level	.64	.38	.36	.08	.40	.37
Wife's education level	.47	.44	.06	.01	.13	.57
Wife's occupation	.58	-.11	.13	.33	-.02	.18
Best friend's occupation	.62	-.11	.16	.03	.25	-.04
Income	.66	.14	.22	.01	.40	-.17

As summarized in Table 7, however, child-rearing values do seem to add considerably to the explanation of P.T.A. activity. Dissatisfaction with school seems directly related to status differences. A clearer view of the operation of these variables upon achievement, however, is provided in the results of the regression of achievement on all of the variables included in the analysis. Ability included, these variables explain 63 percent of the variation in achievement among Negroes, and 34 percent of the variation in achievement among whites.

Table 8, shows the independent contribution to explained variance by each variable in the model for Negroes and whites. Though child-rearing values operate independently of the other variables in explaining variation in achievement, they appear more important for whites. In the white sample child-rearing values exert a larger independent influence than any of the other variables in the model. In the Negro sample, parent's father's occupation is the most important predictor with family income nearly as important. Wife's education and participation in P.T.A. also contribute substantially to the prediction of achievement among both Negroes and whites.

One troublesome aspect of the findings is the relatively low level of explained variation in achievement among whites when ability is included in the model. Caution in interpretation of the regression analysis should be empahsized in view of the size of the samples. In addition, the distribution of ability scores is different for the two racial groups. This difference is consistent with those reported by a number of other studies (Peterson and DeBord, 1966). Though the standard deviation was identical in the two samples (14.9), the mean ability scores differed considerably. The mean ability score for Negroes is 88.5, whereas, among whites the mean ability score is 96.8. Another factor which may operate in this sample to lessen the impact of ability score in predicting achievement is the clustering of the sample in elementary grades. For the Negro and white samples respectively the mean grade levels are 6.6 and 6.9, with standard deviations of 3.8 and 3.9. Given the greater instability of ability tests administered to young children one may expect somewhat poorer prediction.

TABLE 7

Variance explained in key dependent variables by the different models employed.

INDEPENDENT VARIABLES	CRITERION	% VARIANCE EXPLAINED	
		Negro	White
Occupation, education, and income variables	Achievement	57	8
Occupation, education, income, and child-rearing values	Achievement	58	20
Occupation, education, and income variables	P.T.A. activity	25	46
Occupation, education, income, and child-rearing values	P.T.A. activity	29	56
Occupation, education, and income variables	Diss.with school	30	47
Occupation, education, income, and child-rearing values	Diss. with school	30	48

TABLE 8

Variance in achievement explained by each independent variable.

Variable	Variance Explained*	
	Negro	White
Father's occupation	13.7	1.6
Work when married	4.4	0.2
Education level	1.5	3.3
Current occupation	1.8	3.2
Weekly income	12.5	0.4
Wife's occupation	0.8	2.4
Child-rearing values	3.6	5.3
Wife's education	4.0	4.9
P.T.A. activity	4.2	2.9
Occupation of best friend	2.0	3.8
Ability	2.0	4.7
Dissatisfaction with school	6.2	0.6
Grade when achievement administered	6.3	0.5
Total Variance Explained	63.0%	33.8%

* Computed on the basis of a formula suggested by Dr. Robert Hamblin: the amount of variance λ_x accounted for by variable x in a regression equation of N independent variables is given by the formula $\lambda_x = \frac{|\beta x| R^2}{\sum_i^n |\beta i|}$

DISCUSSION

A major focus of this research is upon the relation between occupation and child-rearing values. The literature which encouraged this study suggested that for whites at least, occupational experience operated directly and independently to shape one's view of the world and his orientation toward his children. In contrast to expectation, though occupation and child-rearing values are significantly correlated in both the Negro and white samples, occupation exerts an independent influence upon values among Negroes only.

These findings suggest that occupational experience may operate differently for Negroes than for whites. It is possible, however, that this difference reflects a difference in occupational context for Negroes and whites at the same socioeconomic level. The association between education and occupation level was somewhat higher among whites than among Negroes. Given this, one may expect greater educational heterogeneity within occupational categories, thus altering Negroes'occupational reference base, and possibly exposing them to different views of occupation and community.

It should be emphasized that these findings do not refute the findings of Kohn in that the measure of occupational experience employed here is different. Though the Duncan index, employed here, rates occupation on a 99 point scale, which greatly reduces variation in the measures used by Kohn, it does not rate occupation specifically on closeness of supervision, principal component of work, and requirement of self reliance of work. What is demonstrated, is the difference in the nature of occupational experience for Negroes and whites.

It is clear that occupational experience is an important variable in explaining variation in child-rearing values among Negro fathers. One may expect that if a genuine effect among whites is hidden in the looseness of the rating of occupations, the effects reported for Negroes are conservative. An important extension of the present research would be accomplished with more specific occupational measures.

The findings of the analysis of correlates of achievement in this sample must be interpreted with the awareness of the limitations discussed above. Several have suggested, for example, the importance of age differences in structural supports for identification with the goals of the school and teachers, among Negroes (cf. Von Roemer, 1968).

When the relative importance of the independent variables included in the model predicting achievement are examined in the two racial groups two differences stand out. There are substantial

differences in the contribution to the explanation of achievement of fathers occupation and income. Among Negroes, these variables emerge as the most important predictors of achievement. It should be emphasized that the range of these variables is considerably different in the two groups, with Negroes as a group coming from poorer backgrounds and commanding fewer resources in the present.

Though child-rearing values, involvement in school activities, and concern for the job the school is doing independently contribute to the explanation of variation in achievement levels, it would appear that among Negroes, financial stability both in the present and over generations is very important.

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